563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 621 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs. 203

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism. 829 186

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is." 177 535 609

Flores: The following information was obtained from the Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant 000

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they
203 often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But some of them have seen maps in the schools. 203 186 829

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for relations with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons. 186 181 578 721

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here know very little even about local historical events. This reminds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver 157 114

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

● 186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
●186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned